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"Success To The Tuley" et. al. via Liverpool

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

Manufacturers of "Liverpool-type"¹ transfer-printed creamware and pearlware aimed at the general American market by decorating their products with pictures of American heroes and events; many examples of this ware exist. It is extremely rare, however, to find examples of "Liverpool-type" ware that were made on specific American order, as few have initials or a name associated with them. Sometimes nevertheless an association can be established when the scene on a vessel is of an identifiable event or organization. Such is the case with a rare group of pitchers or "jugs"² made for known individuals in the Pamlico and Albemarle Sound areas of eastern North Carolina and dating between 1795 and 1810.* A ceramic group of this type is unique in the South and probably would not have existed at all had it not been for the close commercial ties between eighteenth-century England and southern coastal cities.

The term "Liverpool-type" has become a generic prefix for transfer-printed creamware and pearlware of the 1790 to 1825 period. The term "transfer-printing", or the transferral of an inked, engraved design via paper to a ceramic surface, was first mentioned by John Brooks in petitions for patents in Birmingham in 1751 and in Battersea in 1754.³ The development of this

**Four of these jugs will be exhibited at MESDA from May 17 to June 9, 1976.*

technique is often incorrectly credited to John Sadler and Guy Green of Liverpool, who in "the space of six hours, to wit betwixt the hours of nine in the morning and three in the afternoon of the same day, print upwards of twelve hundred tiles of different patterns." Brooks also mentions in his same affidavit dated August 2, 1756, that they had been experimenting in the technique for "upwards of seven years. . . ."⁴

It might always be argued who was first in the invention of transfer-printing . . . Brooks, or Sadler and Green. Perhaps it is more important that both parties were early developers of this technique, which ultimately revolutionized the mass decoration of ceramics.

The Liverpool workshop of Messrs. Sadler and Green began in 1756 and became known synonymously with transfer-printing. Although Staffordshire was the largest manufacturing center for ceramics in England, many potteries there, including Wedgwood, sent undecorated ceramics to Liverpool for application of transfers for the English as well as the American market.⁵ Many factories in Liverpool, such as *Herculaneum*⁶ and Seth Pennington's,⁷ engaged in transfer-printing, but examples are rarely marked. To complicate the matter still further, several "outside decorator"⁸ transfer-printing ateliers besides Sadler and Green are known including Richard Abbey, Joseph Johnson, and Richard Walker.⁹

The quantity of Staffordshire ceramics transfer-printed in Liverpool is unknown, but in 1777 when the Trent-Mersey Canal was built there were increased volumes of unprinted as well as finished Staffordshire pottery transported to Liverpool to be sold in the many warehouses.¹⁰ Aside from the ceramic importance of Liverpool, other products such as glass, textiles, iron, and gunpowder were imported for American consumers. This being a reciprocal trading venture, American ships to English ports such as Liverpool carried tobacco, wood, fish, skins, wheat, and corn.

North Carolina was rich in many of these products and took advantage of the possibilities of trade in the mid-to-late 1780's as it had before the Revolution. This southern state had naturally developed a more lucrative trade (nearly 47% of its total commerce) with the West Indies during the post-revolutionary years. There were, however, certain commodities needed from England which were not readily available from other sources.¹¹ This was the commercial potential which set



Photograph courtesy of the Division of Geography and Maps,
Library of Congress.

Figure 1. Enlargement of a Survey of the State of North Carolina . . . by Jonathan Price and John Strother, engraved by W. Harrison, Philadelphia, 1808. (A) Edenton, (B) Washington, (C) Shell Castle. Division of Geography and Maps, Library of Congress.

the stage for the development of one of the most important eighteenth-century North Carolina mercantile firms, that of Thomas and John Gray Blount.¹²

In 1783, Washington, North Carolina, became the seat of the Blount brothers' firm. Thomas, William and John Gray Blount ultimately developed, from what had been a mere store on the forks of the Tar or Pungo River, an international commercial venture which greatly increased the availability

of commodities to local merchants.¹³ John Gray, the motivating force behind the firm, operated the main store at Washington, North Carolina, and Thomas managed a store at Tarborough. William, the imaginative member of the firm, devoted almost all of his time to politics, as did Thomas. Both of these men enlarged the firm through their many contacts, and together with John Gray they left voluminous amounts of correspondence and accounts of their business.

The Blount firm was successful despite the fact that the town of Washington is located somewhat inland on the Tar River (Fig. 1). Except for Wilmington, the North Carolina coast is interlaced with shifting sand bars and hazardous navigational points. The Ocracoke Inlet was (and still is) the entrance to Pamlico Sound and was more commonly used than Roanoke Inlet, the entrance to the Albemarle Sound which served Edenton. It is understandable why the Ocracoke Inlet, leading to Bath, Washington, Hertford, New Bern, and at times Edenton (generally the entire northern and central coast of North Carolina), was the site the Blounts selected for the development of Shell Island.

John Wallace (1758-July 22, 1810) was the proprietor or "governor" of the 1790 establishment on Shell Island known as Shell Castle.¹⁴ Described in 1795 by Jonathan Price in *A Description of Occacock Inlet*,¹⁵ this development was used as a "lightering" center for unloading goods from large draft ships into smaller boats, these goods in turn to be shipped over the sand bars and up the rivers to their ports. In the early 1790's the firm's trade increased to the point where it became inevitable that the Blounts acquire their own ships capable of shipping to Great Britain and Europe. They had the *Russell*, the *Ann*, the *Grampus*, and the *Tuley* built, the latter named for its shipwright, Henry Tuley.¹⁶

It was the *Tuley* and its trade with Liverpool that provided access for special-order transfer-printed jugs for Washington, Shell Castle, and perhaps Edenton. Some planters and most merchants in America had agents or factors in foreign ports for handling their merchandise. In Liverpool the Blounts had William Charles Lake. Lake ordered for the Blounts and their friends and sold what the Blounts had shipped in their brigs. These shipments undoubtedly carried the orders for the transfer-printed jugs bearing initials, names, and special designs which survive today.

Attempting to place the jugs in a chronological sequence for style and decoration is difficult as so little is known regarding factories and transfer-printing centers. Because of this difficulty, the group must be broken into two styles: swelling and baluster.

The earlier swelling style is represented by not one, but three examples, all possibly ordered at the same time: a pair with "JOHN LITTLE" on the front and "JOSIAH COLLINS" on the side, and a single one with "WILLIAM BLAIR" on the front and "COURT HOUSE/EDENTON" on the side. All three of these men lived in Edenton. John Little (?-1824) is mentioned in 1806 as a merchant living next door to the Josiah Collins' home and was probably involved in a common shipping venture with Collins.¹⁷ Josiah Collins (1735-1819)¹⁸ was also a merchant and shipper and connected with the Chowan River Blounts through the marriage of his daughter Nancy to Jacob Blount¹⁹ of the firm of Blount, Hewes and Blair (William) of Edenton.

The pair of creamware jugs with "JOHN LITTLE" (Fig. 2) and "JOSIAH COLLINS" (Fig. 3) on them stylistically date 1795-1800 and are the most typical of the entire group (by typical is meant the type which could be ordered by a letter without an enclosed sketch). Both are unmarked and probably of Liverpool or Staffordshire manufacture, black-transfer-printed and enamelled in Liverpool.

Around the neck of this pair of jugs are floral garlands commonly seen in examples of the 1795 to 1800 period. Over "JOSIAH COLLINS" is a typical print of a ship at sea. The sea is enamelled green and the American flag on the ship is decorated with enamelled red stripes. On the front, under the spout, is an eagle print similar to, though not identical with, the "HERCULANEUM POTTERY LIVERPOOL" eagle associated with that factory.²⁰ Under the eagle is "JOHN LITTLE" with a typical Liverpool woman leaning on an anchor looking out to sea.²¹ Filling the other side is an oval print of the "Washington Map", a map of the east coast of America flanked by Washington, Fame, and Liberty on the left, and Franklin, Justice, and Wisdom on the right.²² In the absence of further documentary evidence, this pair must be attributed to Liverpool (1795-1800), probably Herculaneum-manufactured and decorated.



Photographs in this issue by Bradford L. Rauschenberg, the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, except where noted.

Figure 2. John Little and Josiah Collins jugs, 1795-1800. HOA 10-3/4". Private collection.



Figure 3. John Little and Josiah Collins jugs. Private collection.

The other creamware black-transfer-printed jug with "WILLIAM BLAIR" (Fig. 4) on the front was ordered somewhat differently from the pair. Blair married Mary Blount and is mentioned as an "attorney at law".²³ This is undoubtedly why one side shows an oval polychrome enamel view of a rather stylized courthouse (Fig. 5) surrounded with a festooned Rococo border design quite reminiscent of the earlier tile borders of Sadler and Green.²⁴ Under this is "COURT HOUSE/EDENTON". Other than this specific design for Blair, the lawyer, the front and opposite side have the same prints of the eagle, woman with anchor, and the Washington map. Intertwining grape clusters and vines were selected to decorate the neck of the Blair jug instead of the festoons of flowers seen on the other examples. The Blair jug, like those made for Little and Collins, lacks documentary evidence for exact attribution; however, one would attribute it to Liverpool between 1795 and 1800 on the basis of body and decoration. It seems reasonable to conclude that these three pitchers were especially ordered for specific individuals in North Carolina.

Turning to the inventories and estate settlements of these three people, evidence suggestive of Liverpool-type pitchers was found only in Collins' papers. His inventory of May 24, 1819, mentions "4 pitchers"²⁵ and in a personal estate list of July 1839 are listed "1 tea set Liverpool ware 62 pieces" and "8 pitchers (Different sic Kinds)."²⁶ It was useless to undertake a search for similar indications of Liverpool-type ware in John Little's papers; he disliked the idea of itemized inventories and in 1824 asked that none be taken.²⁷ William Blair's "Account of Sales of Estate, 12 March 1813" failed to list jugs.²⁸ While one cannot expect to find "transfer-printed" mentioned in inventories or wills, the separate mention of a jug instead of a compilation lumping it with other ceramics indicates a special jug, in this case a Liverpool-type. These three jugs are today still in the families directly descended from these men.

A fourth jug (Fig. 6) of the swelling style is also of creamware and is interestingly different from the three for Edenton. The only one of the entire group which is marked, it is impressed "WEDGWOOD" in a low curve. This jug does not flair at the base like the others and the spout is more pronounced and heavier. The handle lacks the "rise" at the top of the loop, as seen on the others. Aside from the body, the decoration is Wedgwood type but probably attributable to Liverpool.



Figure 4. William Blair jug, 1795-1800. HOA 11".
Private collection.

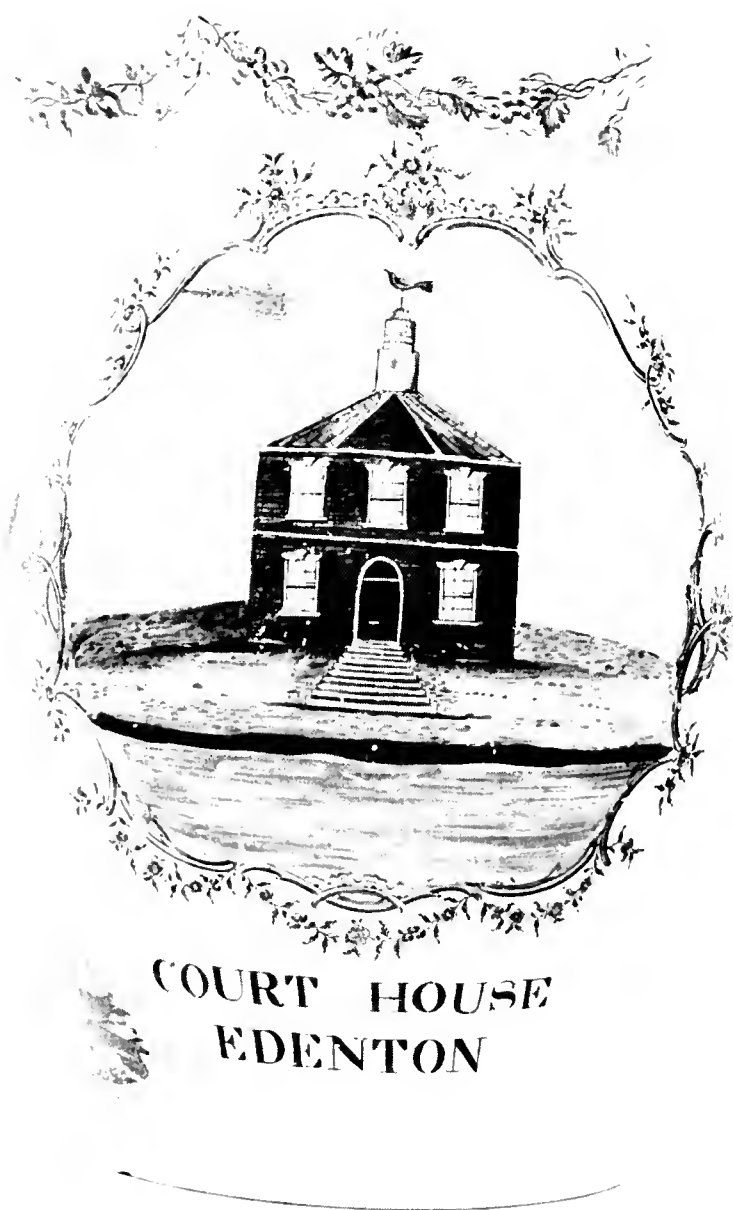


Figure 5. William Blair jug. Private collection.



Photograph courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History.

*Figure 6. John Gray Blount jug, 1795-1800. HOA 12-11/16".
North Carolina Museum of History.*



Photograph courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History.

Figure 6a. Impressed Mark on John Gray Blount jug. North Carolina Museum of History.

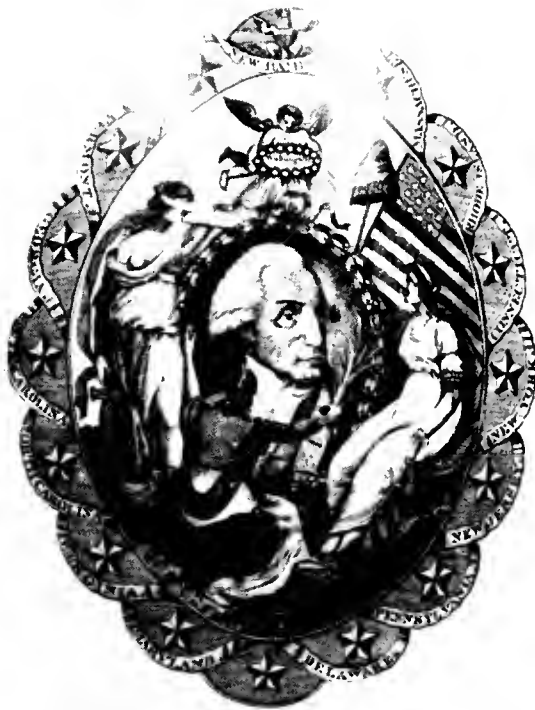
On the front is "JGB" (for John Gray Blount) in script within a feathery scroll border, the whole enamelled in purple. A search for comparative jugs failed to locate an identical treatment. Thus, this example is perhaps unique. Around the neck of the jug is a "running" anthemion pattern in black enamel identical to two jugs of "OROZIMBO OF BALTIMORE" (Maryland) impressed "Herculaneum"²⁹ and two jugs with "SUCCESS TO MOLD COTTON MILL" and "SUCCESS TO ATHERTON HODGSON AND CO.",³⁰ both probably Wedgwood decorated in Liverpool. These jugs with the anthemion pattern, together with "THE VIRGINIA" jug impressed "WILSON" (Hanley),³¹ constitute a group illustrative of the fine hand enamelling achieved in Liverpool and its Herculaneum factory.

This Liverpool type of enamelling is best seen on the side of the "JGB" jug (Fig. 6). Over "SUCCESS TO THE TULEY" (Fig. 7) is the totally polychrome enamelled ship and water, appearing larger than a normal transfer and



Photograph courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History.

Figure 7. John Gray Blount jug.



Photograph courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History.

Figure 8. John Gray Blount jug.

comparable to "THE VIRGINIA" even in the flourishes beneath the water. Underneath "JGB" is a print of an eagle different from the other examples. On the opposite side (Fig. 8) is a print of Washington's head flanked by Justice and Liberty surrounded with an oval of fifteen states named on oval banners.³² The print source for this is unknown.

This jug can probably be more accurately dated than any of the others. Certain clues are afforded by the life of the ship *Tuley*, which was built on the Tar River in 1793 and 1794, crowned with a controversial maidenhead carved in Philadelphia, and arrived in Liverpool on its maiden voyage October 20, 1794. The second voyage brought it to Liverpool July 26, 1795.³³ This second voyage reveals evidence for special ordered ceramics.

A letter to John Gray Blount from William Charles Lake in Liverpool, dated September 4, 1795, discusses merchandise being loaded on the *Tuley* for its return voyage to Washington, North Carolina. This shipment arrived on November 10, 1795. Lake apologized in the letter for goods not included in the shipment and said that "I beg leave to enclose for your perusal two letters from Staffordshire to shew I was early in my application for the earthenware and that time is required to procure them [special ordered?] from the manufacturies, the quantity I was disappointed in I got in town [Liverpool] distinguished in the Invoice by S & H [Shorthose and Heath]. . . ."³⁴ The two letters from Staffordshire were located in the miscellaneous correspondence of the Blount letters and are from John Mare, a potter in Hanley, Staffordshire.³⁵ Mare apologized for the change in prices ". . . in my invoices . . . because . . . of regulation of prices throughout the pottery . . . and that the . . . ordered goods . . . will be delayed because of . . . negligence and drunkenness of my workmen. . . ."³⁶ This apparently special order of Lake's to John Mare from John Gray Blount could possibly be for some of the surviving jugs or others no longer in existence. But why order them from Staffordshire when they could more easily be ordered and purchased locally in Liverpool? Could it be that Blount ordered ceramics from Staffordshire because he knew the best creamware was made there? This is not clear from the records and must be left to conjecture.

In considering the "Invoice by S&H" we learn of Lake's purchasing ceramics from the agent or warehouse of Shorthose

and Heath of Hanley. These men probably sold their ceramics in Liverpool independently at first and then later in the first quarter of the nineteenth century sold them through the Herculaneum warehouse.³⁷ Could it be that the ceramics bought from S&H were jugs of this group such as the Little and Collins pair or the Blair jug? Of course it could be that S&H were not selling special order ceramics but current ceramics for normal consumption.

It was probably in these first few crossings the *Tuley* made to Liverpool that "SUCCESS TO THE TULEY" was brought back, probably in 1794 or 1795, when the ship was new and hopes were high for success. It is unlikely that this jug was ordered after March of 1799 when the *Tuley* was briefly captured by French privateers.³⁸

Mention of the "SUCCESS TO THE TULEY" pitcher could not be found in any existing inventory, as John Gray Blount's estate settlement could not be located. However, it and another pitcher of "SHELL CASTLE" passed directly down through one of John Gray Blount's daughters, Polly Ann, to the present owner.³⁹

If our chronology is correct, we have a document for another jug similar to the above. On November 26, 1797, John Wallace, in a letter to John Gray Blount discussing a load of merchandise being sent to Washington on the *Beaver* (a lighterer), mentions in a postscript that "[I] send you a small pitcher with the map of Shell Castle [transfer-printed?] on it."⁴⁰ Here is evidence for another source of orders for these jugs — John Wallace. The note reads as if Blount did not know of this jug and Wallace wanted to give him one, out of others probably ordered by Wallace. Wallace is also the probable order source for three jugs which are of the later baluster style and theoretically date 1805-1810. One of these jugs is in the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum (Fig. 9) and another is in the North Carolina Museum of History (Fig. 12). A third jug (HOA 11-1/8") is owned by the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Inc., but was discovered too late to be included in this article. These bear a dark brown transfer-print on the front of "A North View of / GOVR. WALLACES / Shell Castle & Harbour / NORTH CAROLINA" (Fig. 9). This print is unknown except as reproduced on these three jugs. A search of the John Gray Blount papers failed to produce even a remote suggestion of a sketch



Photograph courtesy of the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum.

*Figure 9. Shell Castle jug, 1805-1800. HOA 13-1/4".
The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum.*

of Shell Castle which undoubtedly was made and sent with a special order for the jugs. Jonathan Price or John Strother may have sketched a view from which this engraving was made. Both were capable, maintaining business agreements with John Gray Blount and therefore directly concerned with the success of Shell Castle.



Photograph courtesy of the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum.

Figure 10. Shell Castle jug. The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum.



Photograph courtesy of the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum.

Figure 11. Shell Castle jug. The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum.

Jonathan Price in his 1795 *A Description of Occacock Inlet* described Shell Castle as "besides his [John Wallace's] dwelling-house and its out-houses, which are commodious, here are warehouses for a large quantity of produce and merchandise, a lumberyard and a wharf, along side of which a number of vessels are constantly riding. . . ." The extreme right of the print on the jug illustrates the lighted beacon which was erected there in 1794.

These jugs are of the polychrome enamel pearlware type so little understood by ceramic historians. This form should date 1810 to 1815, but is most likely earlier, 1805 to 1810, since Wallace was probably alive when these jugs were made. He died July 22, 1810. One of the jugs has an oval print of an altered version of "AN EMBLEM OF AMERICA" (Fig. 10), which honors Washington. The print source for this was published on January 4, 1799.⁴¹ On the reverse side, is an oval print of "WASHINGTON IN GLORY"/"AMERICA IN TEARS" (Fig. 11).⁴²

Flanking the identical print of Shell Castle on one of the other jugs is a typical sailing ship on one side (Fig. 12) and a variation of "PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE" with an eagle, cannon, flag, and farming implements on the other (Fig. 13).⁴³ These jugs are identical in form and both have underglaze blue flowers around the neck. The polychrome enamel decoration at the neck and the subjects of the side prints vary on each jug.⁴⁴ Because of this variation and the overlapping of one side of the Shell Castle transfer over part of "AN EMBLEM OF AMERICA", it is obvious that these side scenes were stock prints, the Shell Castle print being applied last, overlapping and too large for the space. On both examples the quality of the prints is not as sharp and clear as on the swelled jugs of the eighteenth century. The Shell Castle jugs may be attributed to either Liverpool or Staffordshire, in terms of decoration; however, the body has a form [in particular the handle] often attributed to Swansea or Sunderland. Evidence of shipment from these two factories to Liverpool for decoration is lacking, so this must remain conjectural for the present.

A search of the 1810 inventory of John Wallace produced "two large pitchers" and "three smaller ditto", probably of the Liverpool type.⁴⁵ No estate sale has been found nor are any present-day descendants known.



Photograph courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History.

Figure 12. Shell Castle jug, 1805-1810. HOA 12-7/8". North Carolina Museum of History.

A search of other inventories of people in Edenton who were either related to or had business connections with Collins, Little, or Blair revealed possible evidence of other Liverpool-type jugs. Elizabeth Sinkler's will of July 9, 1816, listed "a large pitcher with the initials of my father's name on it" to be left to her sister Ann C. O'Malley, and to her daughter Peggy Neill "one large black and white pitcher".⁴⁶ From the estate



Photograph courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History.

Figure 13. Shell Castle jug. North Carolina Museum of History.

sale of Myles O'Malley in 1814 one jug was purchased by William Norfleet.⁴⁷

The chance that these last mentioned were jugs of the group under discussion is open to conjecture, but the ones illustrated in this article are important to the understanding of Liverpool ceramics and the importation of special ordered ceramics into the South.⁴⁸

Mr. Rauschenberg is the Assistant to the Director of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

NOTES

1. Miller, J. Jefferson II, "Unrecorded American Views on Two Liverpool-Type Earthenware Pitchers", *Winterthur Portfolio* 4, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), p. 109. See also unpublished Master's thesis by Christina Hine Nelson, *A Selected Catalogue of the Liverpool-Type Historical Creamwares and Pearlwares in the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum*, University of Delaware, May 1974, p. 1.
2. The term "jug" will be used throughout this paper, except for quotes, because of its widespread acceptability in ceramic publications. "Pitcher" in Great Britain is fired clay from which molds are made.
3. Watney, Bernard and Robert Charleston, "Petitions for Patents concerning Porcelain, Glass and Enamels with Special reference to Birmingham, the Great Toyshop of Europe", *English Ceramic Circle Transactions*, (London: Cory, Adams & Mackay, Ltd., 1966), Vol. 6, part 2, pp. 60-63.
4. Mountford, Arnold R., *Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware*, (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 61.
5. *The Selected Letters of Josiah Wedgwood*, ed. Ann Finer and George Savage, (London: Cory, Adams and Mackay, 1965), pp. 8, 356, 363. See also Alan Smith, *Liverpool Herculaneum Pottery*, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), pp. 9-10. The volume of earthenware shipped to America from Liverpool is documented by an account of 73,000 crates in 1815 in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* (England) newspaper for January 22, 1820 and reprinted in the *Daily National Intelligencer*. (Washington, D. C.) for 4 April 1820.
6. Smith, *Liverpool Herculaneum Pottery*, p. 9.
7. *Ibid.* p. 4, plate 8.
8. Rauschenberg, Bradford Lee, "Discovery: A Documented Bow Bowl Made for Hallifax Lodge/North Carolina", *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, (High Point: Hall Printing Co., 1975), Vol. I, No. 1, p. 10.
9. Smith, *Liverpool Herculaneum Pottery*, pp. 15-19, 34-37.
10. *The Selected Letters of Josiah Wedgwood*, p. 33.
11. Crittenden, Charles C., *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 161.
12. Keith, Alice Barnwell, "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1948), Vol. XXV, pp. 194-205. The Blount firm was opened by their father Jacob and a friend, Richard Blackledge, in 1761.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 194. Aside from establishing a nail manufactory, a saw mill, gristmills, cotton gins, and other enterprises, John Gray Blount had a speculative mind regarding the possibility of a pottery in Washington, N. C. In a letter to Peter Schermerhorn (a New York

- merchant) of 13 May 1796, Blount asks if he will pass on a "...kegg of Potters Clay or Fullers Earth. . .," which he is shipping, to a potter for an evaluation of the clay. No answer survives so the clay was probably not worth the venture. *The John Gray Blount Papers*, ed. William H. Masterson, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1965), Vol. III, pp. 58-59.
14. *The John Gray Blount Papers*, ed. Alice Barnwell Keith, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1959), Vol. II, pp. 97-99. See also William S. Powell, *The North Carolina Gazetteer*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 449.
 15. *The North Carolina Historical Review*, (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1926), Vol. III, pp. 624-633. Jonathan Price and John Strother, cartographers and surveyors, published in 1808 a map of North Carolina which shows Shell Castle.
 16. *The John Gray Blount Papers*, ed. Alice Barnwell Keith, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1952), Vol. 1, p. 67, note 44. See also *The John Gray Blount Papers*, ed. William H. Masterson, p. 30, note 70.
 17. Bill of sale between John Little and John Beasley, 13 September 1806. Recorded in Chowan County Deed Book D, p. 141, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
 18. *The John Gray Blount Papers*, ed. Alice Barnwell Keith, Vol. I, p. 177, note 30. Collins could have had this pair of pitchers ordered.
 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
 20. Smith, *Liverpool Herculanum Pottery*. p. 109, plate 59.
 21. *Ibid.*, plate 18.
 22. The print source for the "Washington Map" is "The United States of America laid down From the best Authorities Agreeable to the Peace of 1783" (London: John Wallace, 3 April 1783). Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. [G3700 1783. W3 Vault].
 23. Deed between William and George Blair (brother of William), 12 December 1806, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh. It is possible that George Blair, a sea captain, had this jug made for his brother.
 24. Ray, Anthony, "Liverpool Printed Tiles", *English Ceramic Circle Transactions*, (London: Cory, Adams & Mackay Ltd., 1973), Vol. 9, pp. 36-66, plates 29-54. An identical border design is found on a jug impressed "WEDGWOOD" dating 1775-1780 in Smith, *Liverpool Herculanum Pottery*, plate 34A. Another jug with identical borders is illustrated in *The American Heritage Society Auction of Americana* (New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc., November, 1974), p. 201, plate 716.
 25. Inventory of Josiah Collins, 24 May 1819. Recorded in Chowan County Inventory of Estates, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
 26. Inventory of the Personal Estate of Josiah Collins, July, 1839. Recorded in Chowan County Inventory of Estates, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

27. Will of John Little, 12 August 1824. Recorded in Chowan County Estates, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh. In accompanying letter to executor Joseph B. Skinner, John Little mentions many articles but no jugs.
28. Estate Settlement of William Blair, 12 March 1813. Recorded in Perquimans County Estate Sales, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
29. Smith, *Liverpool Herculanum Pottery*, p. 60, plate 47.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 60, plate 48. Porcelain produced at Seth Pennington's factory, delft at other factories, and creamware and pearlware in Liverpool and Bristol were often inscribed with "Success to the . . ." This was due to extensive export trade. An additional jug with an identical neck design is illustrated in Robert H. McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo American Pottery*, (Maine: The Southworth-Anthosen Press, 1942), plate XXIV, fig. 58A.
31. Smith, *Liverpool Herculanum Pottery*, p. 23, plate 18.
32. *Ibid.*, plate 57. See also McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo American Pottery*, plate XXIII, no. 57 and p. 86.
33. Keith, *The John Gray Blount Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 67, note 44. The dates she gives for the construction of the *Tuley* are incorrect. See Keith's notes 36 and 37, Vol. II, pp. 378-379, 404-405, 410-411 for information on the maidenhead made in Philadelphia. Vol. II, p. 451, contains a letter from John Smith (captain of the *Tuley* for this voyage) to John Gray Blount, Liverpool, 4 November 1794. Vol. II, pp. 574-575, contains a letter from William Charles Lake, Liverpool, to John Gray and Thomas Blount, 31 July 1795.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 583-585. The "S & H" here undoubtedly is for Shorthose and Heath, see Donald C. Towner, *English Cream-Colored Earthenware* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), p. 51.
35. Little, W. L., *Staffordshire Blue*. (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1969), p. 133. See also John War, *The Borough of Stoke-Upon-Trent. . .*, (London: W. Lewis & Son, 1843), p. 367; Llewellynn Jewitt, *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain*, (London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1883), p. 487; and G. Woolliscroft Rhead, *Staffordshire Pots & Potteries*, (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1906), p. 248.
36. Letter from John Mare of Hanley, to William Charles Lake of Liverpool, 4 July and 10 August 1795, The John Gray Blount Papers, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
37. Smith, *Liverpool Herculanum Pottery*, pp. 55-56.
38. Masterson, *The John Gray Blount Papers*, pp. 280-281, letter from William Fisher, Jr. of Newport to John Gray Blount, 8 April 1799.
39. Letter from William B. Rodman, Jr. of Washington, North Carolina, to author, 19 February 1975.
40. Letter from John Wallace of Shell Castle to John Gray Blount, 26 November 1797. John Gray Blount Papers, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh. This jug, though unknown today, was probably of the swelling style and transfer-printed. The ". . . map of Shell Castle . . ." might be the first transfer on ceramic from a sketch as a "view" instead of a map and then again it might

- be a map as stated and thus probably a copy of the 1795 *A Description of Occocock Inlet. . . . Adorned with a Map* (Ocracoke Inlet) upon which is first mentioned Shell Castle on a map. This was published by Francois-Xavier Martin in New Bern, North Carolina as written by Jonathan Price and financed by the Blounts.
41. The mezzotint "An Emblem of America" was published by "John Fairburn, 146 Minories, London, 4th Jany. 1799". See *The Old Print Gallery Showcase* (Washington: The Old Print Gallery, 1976), Vol. III, no. 1, p. 6, for a variation of the one normally used on Liverpool-type jugs. See Smith, *Liverpool Herculeum Pottery*, plate 56 and McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo American Pottery*, plate XXV, fig. 65 and p. 69.
 42. The "Washington in Glory/America in Tears" print on this jug was not found elsewhere and is an altered version with Washington facing right and other obvious variations. For the typical version of the print see McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo American Pottery*, plate XXV, no. 65, and p. 90; and *Early English Pottery. . . .* (New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., May, 1974), p. 140, plate 716.
 43. For examples of the "PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE" print see J. Jefferson Miller II, *English Yellow-Glazed Earthenware*, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1974), p. 102, plate LXIII; and McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo American Pottery*, plate XXVIII, fig. 187 and p. 118, no. 186. This last reference, though not illustrated in McCauley, may be the same print seen on the Shell Castle jug.
 44. It is impossible to date these jugs accurately by the number of stars in the flags (swelling, 15; baluster, 16). It seems apparent that artistic license influenced the number and placement of stars regardless of how many states were in the Union at the time. Officially the 15-star flag was used until 4 July 1818, although there were 21 states in the Union.
 45. Inventory of John Wallace Esq. of Shell Castle, 28 November 1810. Recorded in Carteret County Estates, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
 46. Will of Elizabeth Sinkler, 9 July 1816. Recorded in Chowan County Wills, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
 47. An account of estate sale for Myles O'Malley, 31 March 1814. Recorded in Chowan County Estates, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
 48. The author is grateful to Miss Elizabeth Dahill, MESDA field researcher, who searched through thousands of letters in the John Gray Blount collection in Raleigh for evidence of jugs and the sketch of Shell Castle. Also appreciated is the information regarding ceramics in wills and deeds from Edenton contributed by Miss Elizabeth Vann Moore of Edenton. Thanks also go to William B. Rodman of Washington, N.C., the Blount family geneologist and historian, who, with other family members, gave the Blount jugs and papers to the North Carolina Archives.

The Lafayette Medal

DOROTHY WELKER

On Tuesday morning, September 21, 1824, the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* of Baltimore, Maryland published the following notice:

A meeting of the young men of Baltimore, from 17 to 21 years of age, will be held at the Pantheon, (the round house back of the Calvert-street Spring) on Wednesday evening, at half past seven o'clock precisely, to make arrangements for presenting a medal to the distinguished La Fayette on his arrival in this city. It is hoped there will be general attendance.

The same newspaper, on October 9, 1824, said:

The GOLD MEDAL intended to be presented to Gen. LA FAYETTE by the Committee from the different wards, in behalf of the Young Men of the City of Baltimore, may be seen at Mr. Kirke's, No. 30 Market Street, this afternoon.

The medal displayed in 1824 at "Mr. Kirke's" is currently on exhibit at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (Fig. 1).

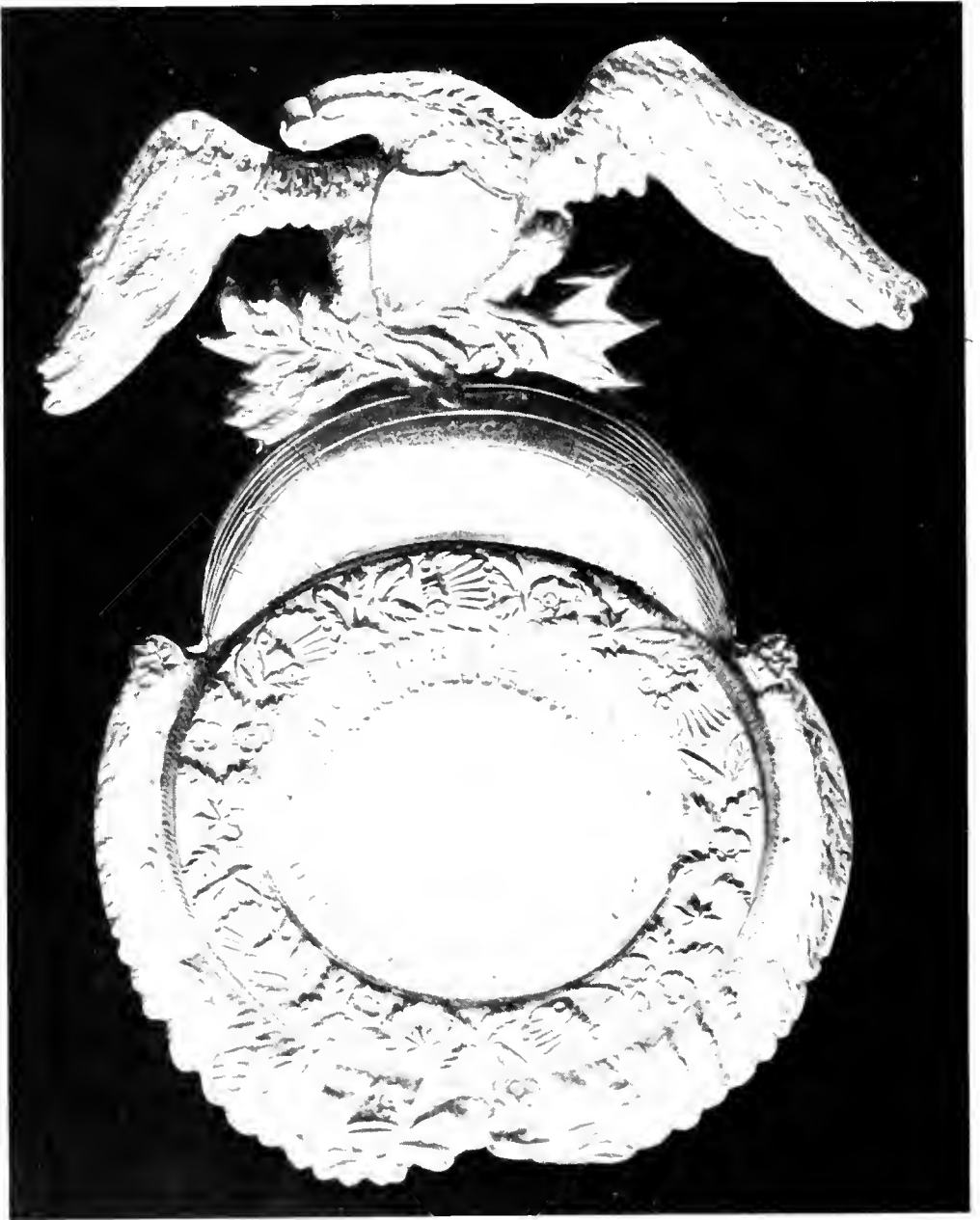


Figure 1. The face of the medal. HOA 3-1/8", WOA 2-3/16".

In 1824, when he was sixty-seven years old, Lafayette¹ accepted the invitation from President Monroe and Congress to be the guest of our nation. When he arrived in New York harbor on August 15 to begin his extended visit, his red hair had thinned a bit and showed some gray. He was a little heavier, a little jowly — presenting a different appearance from that of the nineteen-year-old Lafayette who first arrived in this country in 1777 — but still a hero to the citizens of the country.

Since the end of the American Revolution, men who fought the battles for American independence had told and retold the romantic drama of this brash, wealthy, handsome darling of the French court; of how he bypassed the formality of getting permission from the head of his ancestral family, and that of his king in France, to come to this country to help the colonists; of how he landed in Winyau Bay in South Carolina on June 14, 1777, and made his way overland to General Washington to serve with the American forces without pay; of how he fought side by side with his troops, and endured the privations at Valley Forge, and of how it was at his order that the drum-major struck up the tune *Yankee Doodle* when the British troops were surrendering at Yorktown.

Now, all twenty-four of the United States were busy writing speeches of welcome, preparing pageants, and planning balls to honor this Revolutionary general. School children were rehearsed in recitations or original verses to be performed for Lafayette, and were prepared to wave flags of welcome along parade routes, and to behave with the utmost decorum during his visit. Banners were printed for civic arches with such messages as

We bow not the neck,
And we bend not the knee,
But our hearts LA FAYETTE,
We surrender to thee,²

and

WELCOME ILLUSTRIOUS CHIEF: Receive the pledges of thy children, to sustain with fidelity the principles that first associated La Fayette with the destinies of America,³

to show the love and respect for this man who called himself the adopted son of Washington, and who said of the citizens of this country, "You are all my children."

By 1781, the young Lafayette had charmed the ladies of Baltimore into cutting out and sewing clothes for his ragged fighting men, and had persuaded Baltimore businessmen into loaning funds for the purchase of shoes and other necessities

for the discouraged colonial troops. He so inspired his detachment with enthusiasm and exuberance that when they left Baltimore in April of 1781 on a forced march toward Richmond, Virginia, the men arrived there eager for a battle. The expected encounter did not materialize, but the presence of Lafayette's troops saved Richmond and the military supplies stored there from the British.

To show their respect and gratitude to General Lafayette as a

BENEFACTOR OF THE HUMAN RACE, AND
AS A FATHER IN THE REPUBLIC, which he so
eminently contributed to build up and sustain, at a
time in which "men's souls were tried,"⁴

the people of Baltimore prepared an elaborate and spectacular celebration to take place during his visit in October of 1824.

The field tent used by Washington during the Revolutionary War had been set up at Fort McHenry; there Lafayette was welcomed to Maryland by Governor Stevens, and greeted by members of the Society of the Cincinnati.⁵ He was escorted through the city riding in a "splendid barouche, drawn by four elegant black horses, attended by grooms in full livery." From a raised pavilion, Lafayette watched "a most splendid military display."

At the head of the corps of Forsythe riflemen was an example of the needlework of Moravian women. Lafayette had been wounded at Brandywine and had convalesced in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, at the home of a Moravian Brother, George Frederick Boeckel. During his recovery he was visited by Count Casimir Pulaski, a hero of his country's struggle for Polish independence, who then was assisting the colonists in the Revolutionary War. Pulaski so impressed some of the Moravian young ladies that when he was organizing and training his corps in Baltimore in 1778 they undertook to devise a flag for him. On a piece of red silk, they embroidered the letters "U.S." surrounded by the words *Unita Virtus Fortior* (united valor is stronger). On the opposite side of the twenty-inch-square banner is the all-seeing eye and thirteen stars, with the words *Non alius regit* (no other governs). Pulaski was fighting under this standard in Savannah, Georgia, in 1779 when he was killed. In 1824 this flag, faded and tattered, was displayed as a part of Baltimore's welcome to Lafayette.

The chairman of the committee charged with welcoming Lafayette to Baltimore said in the florid rhetoric of the day:

Although time has diminished a number of those, who personally knew you, and their survivors but a chosen few, who breasted the same storm, who mingled their blood with yours, in the same glorious strife — nevertheless, there has arisen a new generation, who are restless and impatient to survey the features of a man whose talents, whose energies, whose virtues, whose disinterested services in the cause of liberty, have long, long since, roused in their bosoms the rapture of enthusiasm; and who delight to repeat the never dying name of LA FAYETTE.’

The fourteen young men whose names are engraved on the reverse side of the Lafayette medal represent this “new generation” referred to by the chairman. Unfortunately, research has revealed little about these gentlemen or their roles in Maryland society. Their presentation ceremony was an important segment of the planned events welcoming General Lafayette, and the craftsman selected to make their medal undoubtedly saw the commission as an honored opportunity to display his best skills in goldsmithing.

“C. Pryce Fecit”⁸ is engraved on the reverse side of the medal (Fig. 4). Although we know almost nothing of Pryse’s personal history and can only surmise that he was working with or for Samuel Kirk in 1824, the gold medal will forever tell the story of his artistry and skill in design. Surely the medal is among the finest surviving examples of early southern gold work.

The connection between Pryse and Samuel Kirk as suggested by the *Advertiser* article cited earlier is reinforced by archival materials of the present-day Kirk Corporation in Baltimore. In the same year that Lafayette received the award, he became a patron of Samuel Kirk, purchasing from him two goblets, which have since been acquired by the present corporation and added to the collection of the Kirk Museum.⁹ Whether or not Lafayette was moved to make his own purchase by the excellent workmanship of the medal, the products of the Kirk factory were clearly superior, and the selection of

Charles Pryse to produce the medal surely suggests that he was one of the best employees of one of the best metal-working firms. But having made the medal, he almost disappears from record. Maryland silver historians Pleasants and Sill wrote: "Pryse's name does not occur in any directory nor has any other mention of him in Baltimore been found."¹⁰ The only other information noted by Pleasants and Sill indicates that some time after the Lafayette celebration Pryse moved to Washington. They cite an advertisement by Pryse which appeared in the *National Intelligencer* of Washington for February 19, 1834:

. . . that he has located himself at his old stand on Pennsylvania Avenue between 12th and 13th streets, where he continues to manufacture all articles in his line, such as richly chased coffee and teasetts, pitchers, mugs, cans, tumblers, spoons of all descriptions . . . and would inform the public that he is the ONLY MANUFACTURER of Silver Plate in this District.¹¹

After the festivities the citizens of Baltimore expressed their appreciation for Pryse's artistry:

Resolved, That the thanks of the committee be awarded to Mr. Charles Pryse, of Baltimore, (the maker), for the genius and taste he displayed in the workmanship of the medal.¹²

Pryse used the lost-wax method to achieve the basic form of the face of the medal.¹³ The smaller decorative details on the face were executed by a combination of repousse' and chasing techniques. Pryse may have been influenced by the design of the medal worn by members of the Society of the Cincinnati, which combines cornucopiae and an American eagle bearing a shield engraved on each side with scenes from the life of Cincinnatus. However, Pryse's delicate and imaginative design, although it uses similar symbols, seems to be entirely original. His American eagle (Fig. 2) with outstretched wings and simple striped shield broods over a representation of the United States on the world globe. An intricately decorated wreath composed of flowers, shells, and leaves supports the globe and encircles the figure of Justice with her

scales and sword (Fig. 3). In the background is anchored what may be called "the ship of state." Over the figure of Justice are engraved the words "Our Gratitude", and below is engraved the date of the surrender at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. On either outside edge of the wreath is a cornucopia, each with a different design, pouring out its bounty.

The young men selected by the committee to present the medal must have been very proud as they concluded the prepared speech:

General LA FAYETTE — receive this, and with it our everlasting gratitude; and as a memento of the noble achievements that your person and private means rendered the weak handed patriots of the American revolution, in establishing the independence of the thirteen United States.¹⁴



Figure 2. Detail of the eagle.

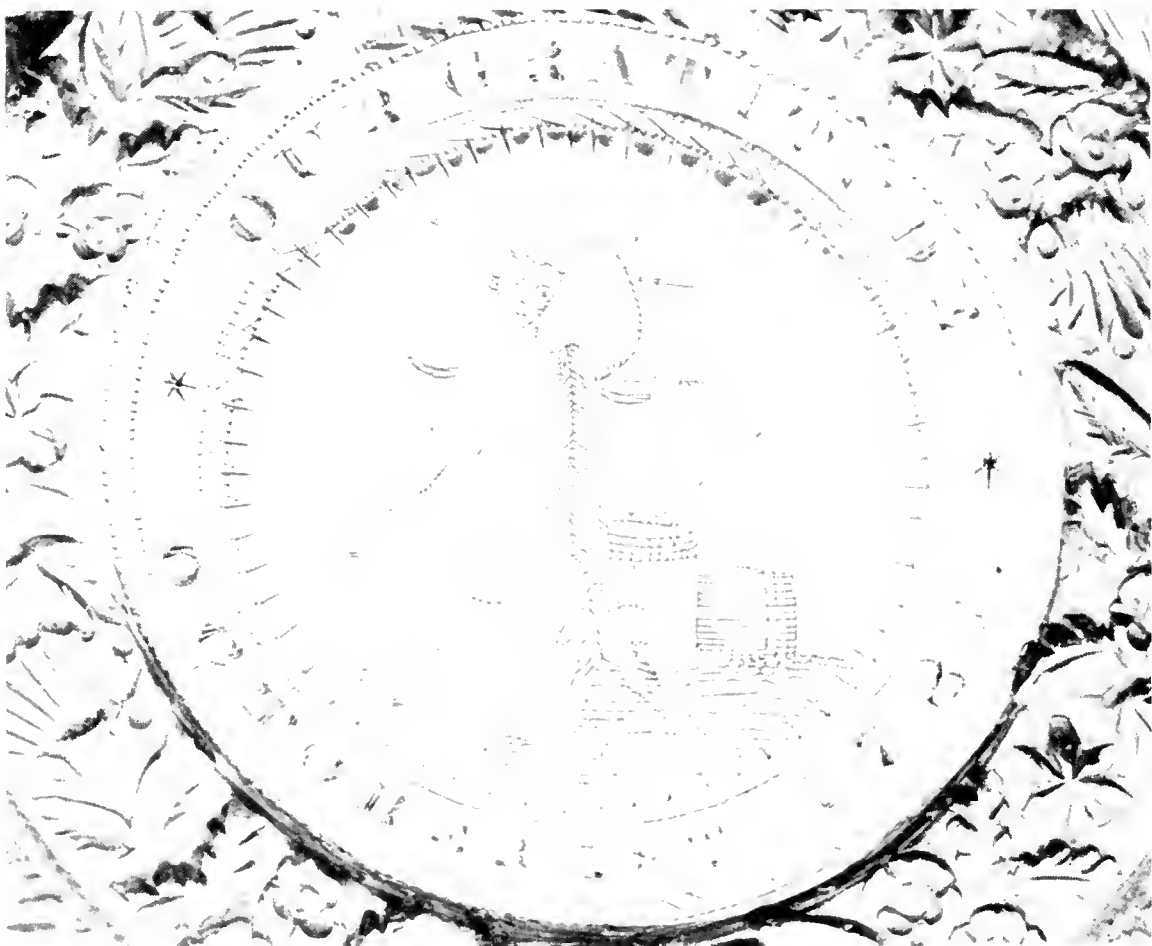


Figure 3. Detail of the figure of Justice.



Figure 4. The names of Pryce and Sands as engraved on the reverse of the medal.



Figure 5. The reverse of the medal.

The medal was soldered onto a gold plate to form a back with a ring for fastening to a sash. The "Misses Roche" later received the thanks of the committee for "their taste in decorating the sash to which the medal was suspended."¹⁵ Nothing more is known of these ladies or their station in Baltimore society.

Since Lafayette wore the medal during the remainder of his stay in Baltimore, he undoubtedly turned it over and read the message on the reverse side (Fig. 5) engraved by J. Sands, who was probably responsible for the engraved figure of Justice, ship, details of the globe, and other inscriptions on the face. The message on the reverse reads:

Presented to
Gen^l Lafayette
by

A. Denmead
W. Smith
T. M. Miller
W. H. Miller
M. H. Keene
G. Dunan
T. A. Roche

F. B. Booth
E. Duffy
T. P. Redding
O. C. Osborne
R. E. France
A. W. Barnes
W. S. Branson

In behalf of the Young Men of Baltimore

October 1824

C. Pryce Fecit

J. Sands Sc.

The Baltimore directory of 1824 lists a John Sands, "engraver and copper plate printer." This is, perhaps, the same J. Sands who demonstrated his expert facility in engraving the Lafayette Medal. Nothing more is known of Sands or his career.

The medal descended in the Lafayette family and was one of many gifts of appreciation presented to the General during his return visit to America, and certainly it was one of the finest in terms of American craftsmanship. It was acquired by MESDA in 1969.

Mrs. Welker is a Senior Hostess at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

NOTES

1. The Lafayette family preferred this spelling, according to Louis Gottschalk in his book *Lafayette in America, 1777-1783*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975), Book 1, Appendix, p. 153.
2. *The American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* (Baltimore), 31 August 1824.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 26 July 1824.
5. The Cincinnatus Society was formed in 1783. The membership comprised officers of the Continental Army.
6. Incident related by Gottschalk, *Lafayette in America*, Book II, p. 51; Col. J. Thomas Scharf in his book *The Chronicles of Baltimore*. (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874); and A. Levasseur in *Lafayette in America in 1824-1825*. (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1829), Vol. I, p. 165.
7. *Niles' Register* (Baltimore), 16 October 1824, p. 103. The article is entitled "The Nation's Guest".
8. The form of the name used in this article is that used by Pleasants and Sill. The name spelled with a *c* as revealed on the medal is probably a misspelling by the engraver, Sands, who was responsible for the engraving on the reverse. Correspondence with the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum reveals that his mark was "C Pryse" in crude capitals within a rectangle. *Niles' Register* of 23 October 1824 refers to him as "Mr. Charles Pryse."
9. Letter to Frank L. Horton, 23 May 1969, from S. Kirk Millspaugh of the Kirk Corporation.
10. J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths 1715-1830*, (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1930), p. 171.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Niles' Register*, 23 October 1824, p. 120.
13. This process was used as early as 1500 B.C. in Egypt, and is still used today in making fine art objects. The design is first modeled in wax, then encased in a coating of clay, leaving an outlet. After the clay is completely dry, it is heated, so that the wax melts and can be poured off. Liquid metal (gold in this case) is then poured into the clay form. When the metal has hardened, the clay shell is broken open to reveal the gold casting in the precise shape of the original wax form.
14. *Niles' Register*, 16 October 1824, p. 120.
15. *Ibid.*

I would like to express appreciation to Mrs. S. J. Womack of Methodist College, Fayetteville, North Carolina for permission to research the extensive collection of Lafayette memorabilia in the Lafayette Room of the campus library.

Baroque Elements in North Carolina Moravian Furniture

JOHN BIVINS, JR.

Of the variety of decorative arts attributable to Moravian craftsmen, furniture provides the greatest challenge to students. This is due primarily to the large quantity of surviving pieces clearly bearing stylistic signatures of cabinetmakers in Wachovia, the Moravian settlement in North Carolina. An incredible array of chair forms, desks, *schranks* (wardrobes), tables, beds, clocks, and cupboards, all demonstrating features now well-recognized as part of the Wachovia vernacular, have been studied and catalogued by the staff of the Old Salem restoration since its founding in 1950. The study of this furniture is particularly interesting because it exhibits a finite picture of the arts produced within a cohesive societal sub-unit which developed closely-knit stylistic trends within the community. Relatively little design influence from other settlements affected Moravian furniture until well into the nineteenth century. This phenomenon was enhanced by the policies of the church/government of the Moravian towns, restricting during the early period those who could enter the trades, and controlling the makeup of the communities through a lease-hold system designed as a seemingly permanent means of maintaining the ideals of a congregation town.

The Moravians did not carefully plan and build their settlements merely for the purpose of housing their own people. The communities were intended to be successful economic units

contributing to the goals of the Moravian Church. Artisans were actively sought who could provide not only essential services to the community but also manufactured articles suitable for trading on the open market where Moravian merchants were eminently successful.

In 1800, Wachovia boasted a combined population in its three major towns of Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania of over 650 individuals, comprising by eighteenth-century standards a densely settled area. Salem, in fact, was the most successful trade center of interior North Carolina during that period; merchants of the town conducted a regular business with factors and manufacturers from London and Bremen to Philadelphia and Charleston. It hardly seems surprising, even in view of the essentially backcountry environment of the Moravian settlement, that this thriving town was able to support over twenty cabinetmakers during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth.

Despite the proliferation of cabinet work in Wachovia in various periods, there was little recognition of the shifting modes of urban styles in America. North Carolina Moravian forms, like those of other German settlements, tended toward the *retardataire*. They were heavily Baroque in design and proportion, conservative in elements of decoration, and pragmatic in statements of use; there are few surprises in Moravian furniture. The Moravians' Teutonic regard for heavy-handed architectural conservatism in their eighteenth-century furniture, in fact, has prompted visitors to Old Salem to draw comparison with the furniture of the Pennsylvania Germans. Wachovia furniture, however, often makes a more modest statement, with less frenzied display of folk motifs and Mannerist art. Moravian cabinetmakers employed little carving or inlay and produced no paint-decorated pieces such as the great Pennsylvania German dower chests. With the exception of their earthenware pottery and architecture, there is little other evidence of western European folk art influence in Wachovia.

North Carolina Moravians came from small urban centers rather than purely rural areas. Most were artisans rather than farmers, and many were well-educated by eighteenth-century standards. The Moravians came to America equipped with a set of cultural images different from those of many Palatines who settled southeastern Pennsylvania. For this reason, Moravian furniture made in this country is a quiet, small-town

extension of the predominant Baroque manner of eighteenth-century eastern German style centers; the styles made even quieter by the conservative nature and pragmatism of the Moravians, to whom function was paramount and fashion often a secondary consideration.

It is a mistake, however, to ascribe the characteristics of Moravian furniture to societal mores and the religious values carefully defined by the Moravian Church. The settlers of the Wachovia tract were culturally Germans and philosophically Moravians. They brought with them a strong stylistic vocabulary typical of central and eastern Europe, exhibiting in every respect the Germanic love of architectural solidarity, mass, curvilinear form, and practicality of use. The sense of these things had existed long before persecuted remnants of the ancient Unity of Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia found refuge in Saxony in the 1720's, renewed what is now known as the Moravian Church and built their town of Herrnhut. The identification of Moravian furniture relies on an understanding of those fundamental design indices and style trends which the craftsmen knew from a previous environment.

Though the great urban centers in early eighteenth-century Germany imported the latest French modes, only the wealthiest classes fully accepted the Rococo style. The Baroque manner was more suitable to German tastes, and both the furniture and interior architecture of the Germanic countries consequently reflect that preference. Some attention was paid to Rococo design in terms of applied or surface ornament, but not to basic form. It is not unusual, for instance, to see a great German *schränk* of the late first quarter of the nineteenth century displaying a full classical cornice, shaped-panel doors with ogee heads, sitting on a heavy base of sixteenth-century form, and decorated from cornice to bed molding with extravagant ruffled and foliated scrollwork painted in the highest Rococo form. The German people were slow to change, whether they possessed wealth or not, whether they lived in a great European city or a small settlement in southeastern America.

Baroque elements in North Carolina Moravian furniture are paramount in eighteenth-century pieces, and still abundant in nineteenth-century examples — to the extent that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to accurately describe them in terms of the usual stylistic designations (e.g. Queen Anne, Chippen-

dale, etc.) Moravian cabinetmakers thought little of mixing elements of two or more periods in one piece, a practice common among other German craftsmen in this country and in Europe. When English neo-classical influence finally began to permeate Moravian furniture design, local joiners still clung to construction methods which might be considered typical of the Baroque period or earlier.

A number of cabinetmakers worked in eighteenth-century Wachovia with this rich heritage of the Baroque as their primary vocabulary. Though none have been identified by signed examples, a significant number of attributions have been made for a variety of existing pieces. These craftsmen included Enert Enerson, a Norwegian who came to Bethabara in 1766 and died in 1777; Joseph Ferdinand Bulitschek, a Bohemian who came to Wachovia in 1771 and died in 1801; Johannes Krause, a native of Ebersdorf, Germany, who worked in Salem from 1775 to 1796; Johann Friedrich Beck, a master in Salem from 1772 to 1776; and Johann Jacob Wohlfahrt, who worked in Salem from the late 1770's until 1801. Three of these men had trained in Europe, and all to one extent or another were exceptionally versatile in their work. Wachovia cabinetmakers, like the artisans of the seventeenth century and before, were called upon to construct architectural elements for buildings and were often referred to as "shop joiners" rather than "cabinetmakers". The range of their work extended well beyond furniture and house parts; Bulitschek was an accomplished organ builder and millwright, and Krause oversaw work ranging from the design and construction of paper mill machinery to the erection of a bell tower.

Furniture forms produced by these early artisans followed a pattern of household use prevalent in German households both in this country and Europe. Prominent among surviving examples, for instance, are large desks and bookcases and ponderous *schranks*, interspersed among various cupboard forms, tables, chairs, and clock cases. Notably lacking in eighteenth-century Wachovia furniture were chests of drawers, an ample suggestion of the prominent use wardrobes played in German households. Although blanket chests were common, the chest of drawers arrived in Wachovia only with the advent of the Federal style; only two examples of the earlier periods have been recorded. Also notably lacking are two chair forms typical of Germanic artisans: the ladder-back and



the plank-chair. Both forms, at least in Salem, seem to have given over in favor of Windsor furniture following rather closely Delaware Valley styles in Pennsylvania, a surprising departure from the less refined seating furniture usually associated with Germans.

Wachovia case furniture exhibits the greatest preponderance of Baroque motifs in its stylistic makeup with desks and desks and bookcases, the most frequently encountered forms, presenting the most interesting and persistent survival of late seventeenth-century design to the end of the eighteenth century and beyond. Many of these pieces approach in proportion the one-to-one ratio of height to width characteristic of the beginning of the Baroque period and before. This is also true of other case pieces in Wachovia, even in the nineteenth century when such furniture had lost many of its stylistic ties with the early period.

The massive visual impact of Moravian case furniture is carried deeper into the Baroque manner by individual elements of the pieces. Prominent are heavy architectural moldings such as the deep coved cornice with a heavy "thumbnail" as its upper element, and a more delicate astragal defining the bottom. An identical architectural form was used by Moravians on both dwellings and institutional structures in Europe and Pennsylvania, though it was not a familiar building element in Wachovia until the last decade of the eighteenth century.

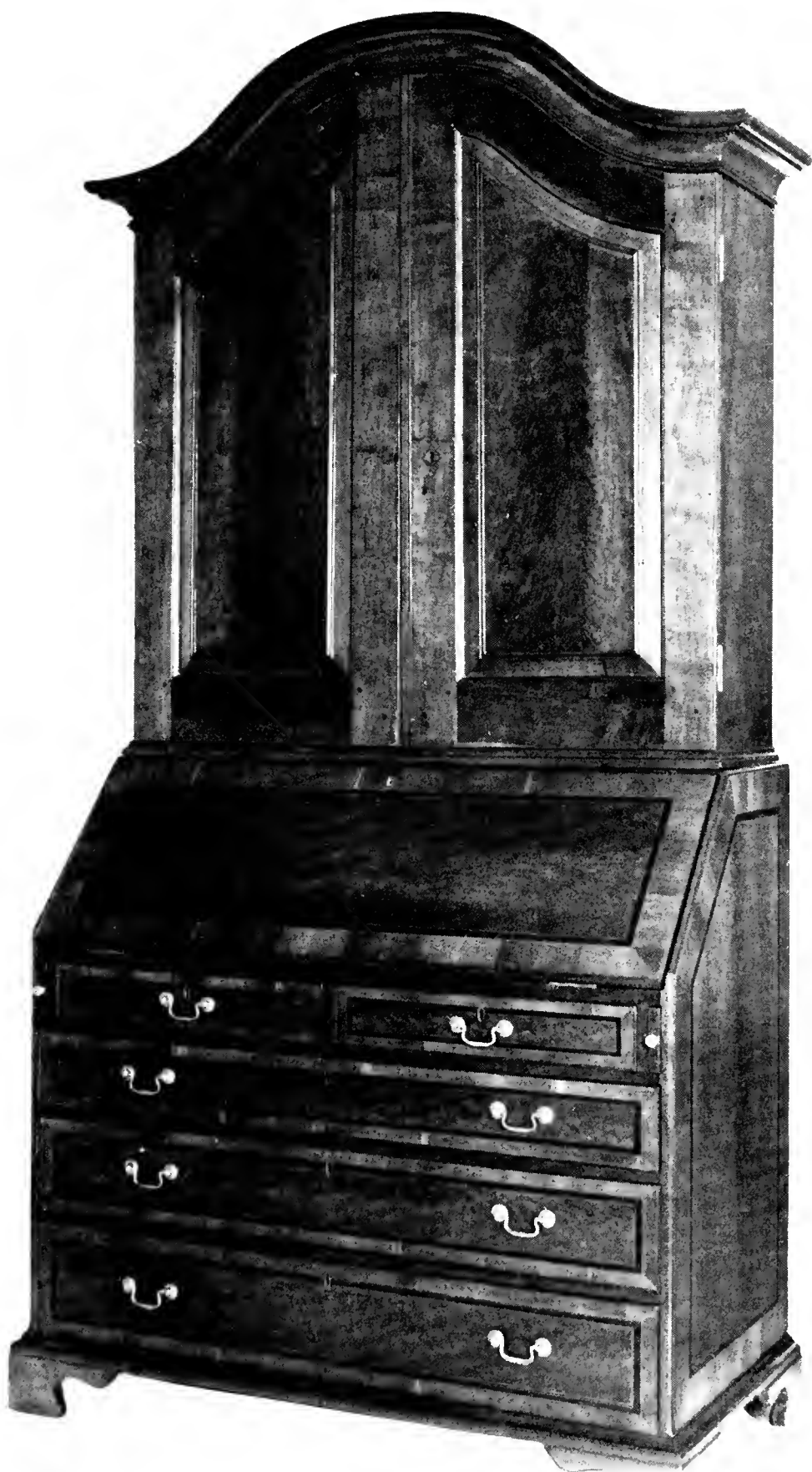
Complementing the weight of this almost exaggerated coving were the ogee heads (Fig. 3) used on the best quality desks and bookcases made in Salem. This unbroken "dome-top" form is familiar in seventeenth-century European architecture, and may be observed on both *schranks* and hanging wall cupboards from the Germanic countries during the same century. The massiveness of early Moravian desks and bookcases is relieved by the upward sweep of both the cornices and the curved upper door panels and rails; the urban formality

Figure 1. Desk and bookcase, Salem, c. 1780-90, attributed to Johannes Krause, walnut with poplar secondary. HOA 93". WOA 49-1/2", DOA 25". Note the applied moldings at the upper case sides, a feature retained from the period when fallboards were flush rather than surface-mounted. Private collection.



Figure 2. Interior of Fig. 1, showing the vertically-sliding drawer lock.

Figure 3. Desk and bookcase, Salem, c. 1795, attributed to Johannes Krause, cherry and cherry veneer over yellow pine, with mahogany and light wood inlay. HOA 96-3/4", WOA 48-1/8", DOA 25-3/8". The ogee bookcase head, molded panel fields, and wide stringing and crossbanding of the crotch-veneer panels follow Baroque precedent. Old Salem, Inc.



of this arrangement is heightened by the usual Moravian practice of hanging bookcase doors flush with the case sides rather than hinging them within finished stiles on the front of the case.

The visual weight of the desk and bookcase, as with other large case pieces, is often enhanced further by unusually deep coved bed moldings and heavy bracket feet. The actual size of these members is impressive; some bed moldings are a full 1-1/4" in thickness, and on earlier pieces with bases of one piece the foot dovetailing is carried into the molding. The brackets usually have a long cyma extension toward the center terminating in a small cove. An occasional suggestion of the Rococo style is seen in Moravian cabinetmakers' use of ogee feet, though these are flattened and ponderous in appearance and have little resemblance to the graceful height of the fully developed English ogee foot.

One of the most prominent Baroque details of Wachovia desks is the characteristic stepped rank of drawers flanking each side of the interior. These three or four drawer ranks are separated from the rest of the interior by quasi-architectural shaped drawer-blade racks, the design of which varies little from the earliest period up to the nineteenth century. The stepped drawers, in fact, continue with the work of later cabinetmakers in Salem, such as Johann Frederick Belo, although the shaping of the racks is greatly simplified in the later period. Although the majority of existing desks with early rack shaping have been attributed to the cabinetmaker Johannes Krause, it seems evident that the same form was used in Wachovia before Krause. An earlier example (Fig. 5) complete with another Baroque detail, a well, displays the same treatment.

The most common form of a North Carolina Moravian desk interior is an open, shelved "prospect" or central section with no cabinet (Fig. 1), convenient, no doubt, for ledgers. Two desks with elaborate interior prospect cabinets (Fig. 4) are known, however, and both follow the preponderant architectural form of Baroque European examples, complete with engaged columns and arched head. One facade conceals a complex system of thirteen hidden drawers.

A more common type of security device seen on Moravian desks is vertically-sliding drawer locks (Fig. 2) located at each side of the interior. When pushed down, these locks prevent

all of the case drawers from being opened when the fallboard is closed and locked. This unusual Baroque detail has been identified particularly with the case furniture of Schleswig-Holstein, and is also found on the earlier work of Job Townsend of Newport, Rhode Island.

Applied (Fig. 1) or directly-molded (Fig. 3) upper desk cases with either lip or quarter-round moldings are a further detail of the early eighteenth century. Such details are often the vestigial remains of earlier usage, in this case the moldings of the slanted part of the case side offsetting the plain, flush-hung fallboards of the William and Mary style. Fallboards of Wachovia desks, however, have the usual rabbeted and lip-molded section designed to rest on top of the case edges. In spite of this more usual fallboard type, however, Salem desks continued to retain a rabbet in the case sides to clear the portion of the fallboard under the lip molding, clearly a Baroque detail (see Fig. 1). Moravian fallboards are occasionally suspended with brass or steel rule-joint arms rather than resting upon fallboard slides. This detail has been seen on desks of the early period in Wachovia, and persists into the nineteenth century. Rule-joint fallboard supports were often the means of suspending the large fall-front writing surfaces of "secretaries" in the William and Mary style both in England and on the continent.

The use of veneers and inlay is rare on Moravian furniture in this country. When found, they reflect Baroque usage rather than neo-classical. The desk and bookcase shown in Fig. 3 ranks among the finest known Moravian case pieces; it is attributed to Johannes Krause and was made for the Salem potter Rudolf Christ. An accompanying clock of great merit, by the same hand (Fig. 6), bears the date 1794 on one of the plates of its movement. It seems reasonable to believe that the desk and bookcase dates from about the same period, circa 1795. Inlay and veneering on American furniture by this time showed ample evidence of the neo-classical Adamesque taste, but this cabinetmaker chose to retain the large rectangular panelling, heavy and wide stringing, and wide cross-banding characteristic of the first quarter of the eighteenth century in Europe. The veneer is of both plain and figured cherry, with the panel surrounds of mahogany and a lighter wood stringing, possibly holly. The desk is exceptional among North Carolina Moravian furniture in that the case is totally veneered.



Figure 4. Desk, Salem, c. 1780, attributed to Johannes Krause, walnut with poplar and yellow pine secondary. HOA 43-1/4", WOA 22", DOA 39-7/8". Demonstrating the fully-developed Wachovia desk interior with compartmented prospect, the interior of this desk follows Baroque precedent from England to Czechoslovakia. Note the quarter-round molding used on the upper case sides. Old Salem, Inc.



Figure 5. Desk interior, Wachovia, c. 1760-75, possibly the work of Joseph Ferdinand Bulitschek, walnut with poplar secondary. HOA 45-3/4", WOA 36", DOA 19-1/8". With the use of a well in the writing surface, this desk represents the earliest form in Wachovia. Note sliding drawer lock at either side of case. Based upon photographs of an organ case (now destroyed), this desk, a schrank, a corner cupboard, and an archives cabinet have been attributed to Bulitschek. Old Salem, Inc.

Schranks are the second-most dominant Moravian case form utilizing Baroque design. Generally following the simpler versions of German counterparts (Fig. 7), Wachovia *schranks* differ significantly in construction from most large examples in southeastern Pennsylvania in that they do not disassemble. One example in walnut, with a full classical entablature, fluted pilasters, and turned ball feet, does in fact take apart in pieces, but another, virtually identical in elevation, is permanently joined (the collection of Bethabara Church and *Gemeinhaus*, Bethabara). Typical Wachovia examples are less architectural, with little embellishment other than the usual coved cornice, raised panelling, and heavy bracket feet. Most early examples have pintle hinges to facilitate removal of the doors. Some, from their size, must have been literally constructed in the space for which they were intended.

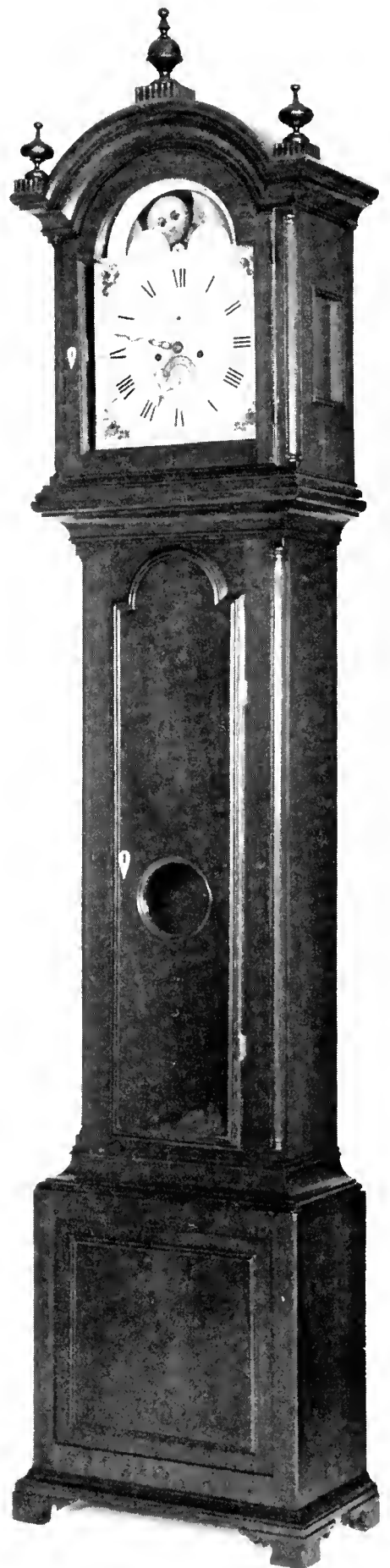


Figure 6. Clock, Salem, c. 1795, attributed to Johannes Krause, cherry with secondary wood of yellow pine and cherry. Height through center plinth, 96-1/2". The arched-head hood of this clock, typical of Salem examples, is a Baroque detail, as are the squat and robust finials. The case shares the molded detail of the waist door and base plinth panel with the desk and bookcase (Fig. 3). Old Salem, Inc.

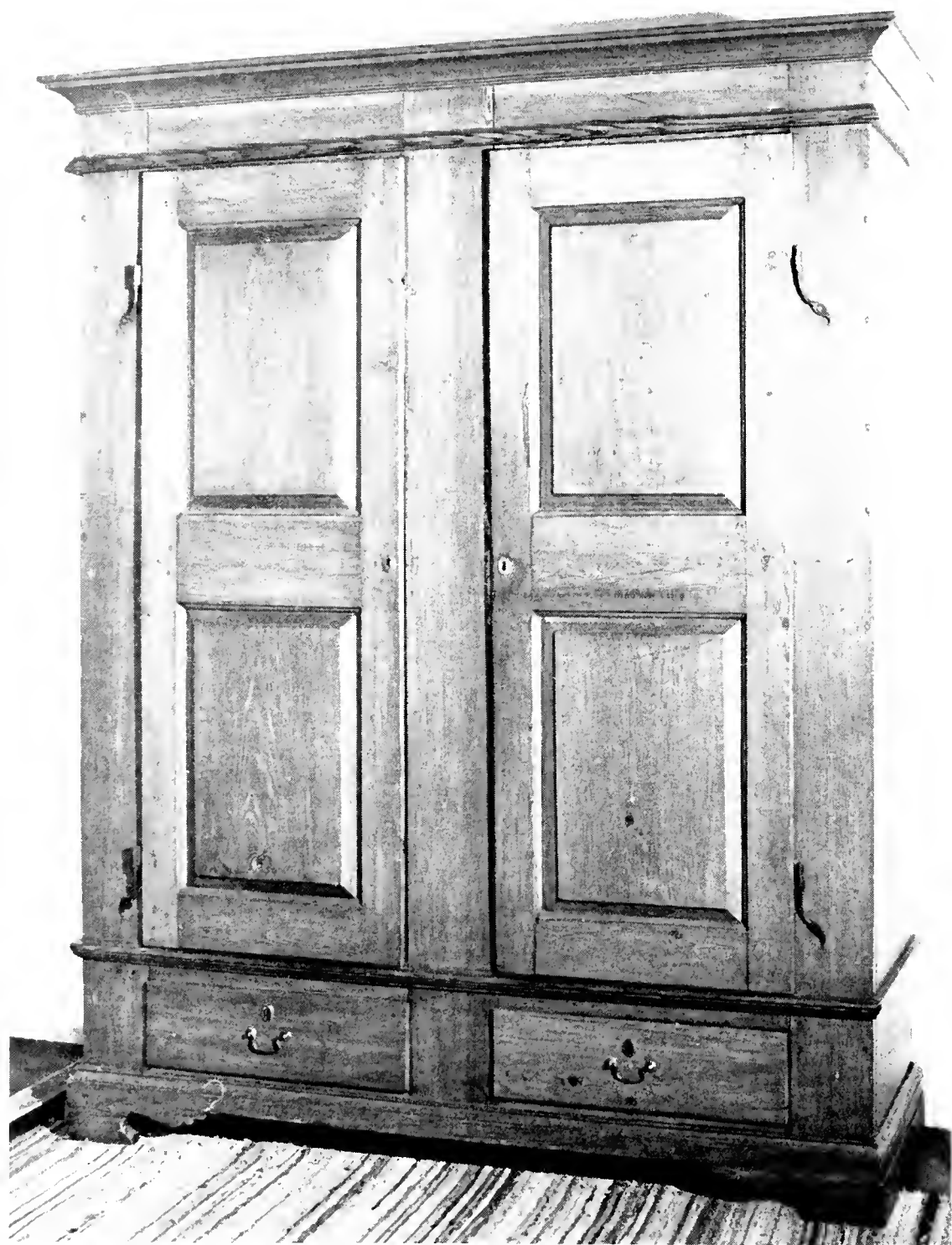


Figure 7. Schrank, Wachovia, c. 1770-80, attributed to Bulitschek, yellow pine throughout. HOA 83", WOA 62-1/4", DOA 18-1/2". Following simple German precedent, this wardrobe does not disassemble; nor do most other examples made in Wachovia. Originally painted blue with red pencilling of molded elements. Old Salem, Inc.

In addition to small "safes" and simple and commodious *kuche schrank*s (kitchen cupboards), early Moravian joiners constructed various forms of corner cupboards (Fig. 8). Few of these last mentioned forms survive from the years before 1790. The early cupboard illustrated here has its blue and bright orange paint restored; the small arch-headed door with heavy muntins, stepped medial molding, single panelled door, and lack of feet relate it to central European examples of the 1720's. This example is a rare survival of a painted Moravian cupboard, although *schranks*, generally of yellow pine in the early period, were commonly painted. Another cupboard of identical form has been examined and has walnut as the primary wood.

Heavy architectural shaping and robust baluster turnings, as we have seen, are earmarks of Baroque design, and these features are not lacking in Wachovia furniture. One of the finest pieces in the collection of Old Salem is a small bed with cyma and astragal shaping of the headboard (Fig. 9) and finely-turned baluster-form legs and posts, which relate well with the vasiform turnings of local stretcher tables of the early period (Fig. 10). Such furniture forms borrow heavily from Renaissance designs, although the refinement which they possess certainly reflects the classical taste of the Baroque period. Even more striking parallels with the Anglo-Flemish Baroque furniture of Europe are Carolina Moravian tables with elongated vasiform legs (Fig. 11) and ball feet. Were it not for the delicacy of such examples, the tendency to identify them with the William and Mary style would be overpowering.

Moravian stretcher tables, including the simpler chamfered-leg variety, generally have their tops attached to the sides of the frame by means of battens dovetailed under the top; pins pierce both the battens and table frame. This construction mode, certainly a Baroque or earlier feature, was probably derived from the need for portability in early furniture. By the time Wachovia was settled, it seems doubtful that householders had need of frequently removing table tops, though the detail hung on as it did in other German communities. In Salem, however, dovetailed top battens were employed on table forms which bear little design relationship with stretcher tables, such as the essentially Rococo drop-leaf dining table in Fig. 15. Associated with Bethania, but heavily suggestive of the Delaware Valley in design, the table employs battens



Figure 8. Corner cupboard, Wachovia, c. 1760-75, possibly Bulitschek, yellow pine throughout. HOA 83-1/4", WOA 44-1/4". The original bright blue and orange pencilling has been restored. While this cupboard was made in two pieces, later examples of the same type are usually one piece. Old Salem, Inc.

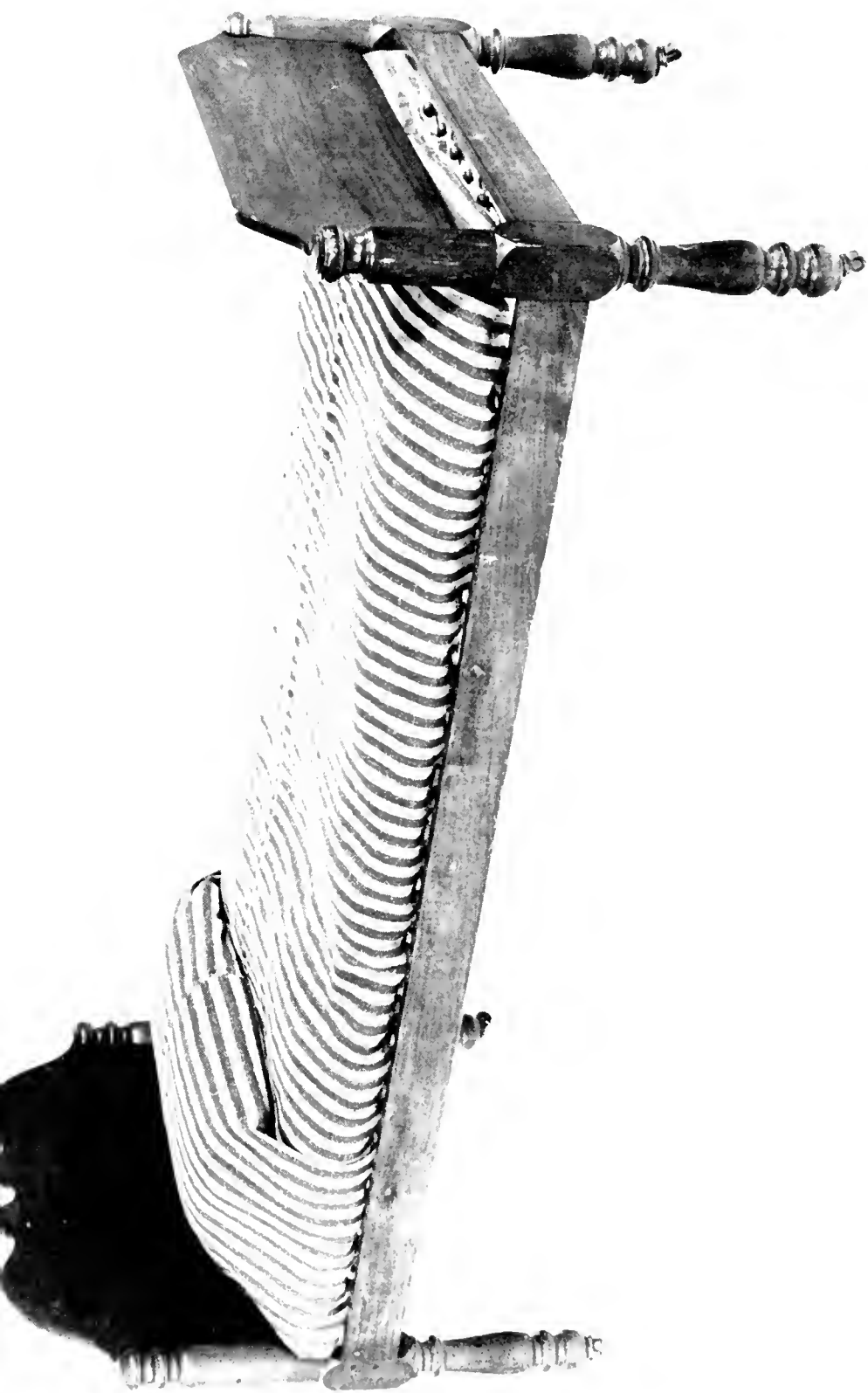


Figure 9. Bed, Wachovia, c. 1760-80. Walnut throughout. LOA 66", WOA 33". An unusual construction detail of this piece is that the headboard rests in a full-length mortise and is removable. Old Salem, Inc.

inside each end skirt to attach the top. Pins for the battens may be seen at the top of the skirt.

This early construction detail can be found even in furniture of the Federal style in Salem. Old Salem owns one splayed-leg neo-classical table of an oval frame form with the top attached by totally concealed battens dovetailed to the top; the table must be inverted to examine this detail. Work of this sort nearly approaches mimesis — the state where a formerly utilitarian feature approaches uselessness.

One function of such battens was to lessen the tendency of a wide top board to dish-warp if the board was slab-sawn. Further instance of the Moravian cabinetmaker's love of earlier construction details is revealed in the frequent use of dovetailed bracing battens under the leaves of dropleaf dining tables (Fig. 16 and 17). Though tables of this sort are not truly Baroque in style, their heavy stance, deep frames, and



Figure 10. Stretcher table, Wachovia, c. 1760-80, walnut with poplar secondary wood. HOA 28-3/4", WOA 52-7/8", DOA 33-1/4". Characteristic of tables of the earliest type in Wachovia, the fine baluster turnings of this example are especially robust and well-defined. Private collection.



Figure 11. Stretcher table, Wachovia, c. 1770-80, walnut with poplar secondary wood. HOA 28", WOA 46", DOA 28-5/8". Perhaps the most overtly Baroque of all Wachovia table forms, this example with its inverted, elongated vasiform turnings and ball feet belongs to a group of several pieces with similar, if not identical, turnings, including a walnut "nurse" chair. Old Salem, Inc.

straight turned legs are more closely allied with the Baroque than the Rococo. Their counterparts in side tables of various sizes (Fig. 14) borrow even further from the earlier mode, with the exposed battens, lip-molded top, and quarter-round molding on the lower edges of the frame.

Early tables often have drawers with their bottoms simply pinned to the drawer sides from below rather than being panelled in, an early construction detail. Wooden pins (trunnels) were generally used in most drawer and case construction, in addition to attaching exterior moldings. The use of pins rather than nails is common in German cabinetry, and probably reflects construction practice dating well before the Baroque period.



Figure 12. Side chair, Wachovia, c. 1770-80, walnut. HOA 41". The peculiar "double" seat rail of this chair is a feature shared by other German examples, though rare in this country. Old Salem, Inc.



Figure 13. Side chair, Wachovia, c. 1770-90, cherry. HOA 47-1/2". Fully in the early Rococo style, this chair (one of a known pair), with its double pairs of cabriole legs and swelled skirting, reflects French influence. One Moravian cabinetmaker in Europe, David Roentgen, worked totally in the Louis XV manner. Collection of the Friedberg Moravian Church.



Figure 14. Side table, Salem, c. 1770-90, walnut with poplar secondary wood. HOA 29", DOA 33-3/4", WOA 52-1/4". This type of table is a familiar form in German communities from Pennsylvania south; Pennsylvania examples frequently have two or more drawers of unequal size. This example bears plain chamfered battens like those used on Moravian stretcher tables, though some such tables have tops attached with pins driven from the top. Old Salem, Inc.

Other than the puzzling local development of the highly advanced Windsor chair, and the notable lack of ladder-back chairs, North Carolina Moravian seating furniture is convincingly Baroque in style. Upholstered chairs, usually with arms and vestigial "wings," clearly follow European precedent set in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In Wachovia, the form was familiar into the nineteenth century, even in combination with tapered legs and attaching rockers. Leather was the common covering material, although horsehair was also used. Such chairs were expensive, and many were probably intended for ecclesiastical use. Similarly, turned-base side chairs with vasiform splats (Fig. 12), quite characteristic of the late Baroque, have been associated with church use. The very unusual detail of having a dual set of seat rails has been noted both in German furniture of the Shenandoah Valley and in lower Bavaria.

An occasional surprising example of full-blown Rococo furniture, such as the side chair in Fig. 13 with full cabriole legs and a swelled skirt in the French manner, is found among the normal production of Moravian cabinetmakers. As noted earlier, tastes in the Moravian community ran counter to rapid change. By the time the English neo-classical style had made itself felt to any significant degree in North Carolina Moravian arts, the entire social system of Wachovia had begun to adapt itself to an inevitable acceptance of successful economic contacts with the outside, which brought consequent changes in an old pattern of life. Along with this came new forms of applied art greatly in contrast with what earlier had been considered comfortable, if not stylish.

Mr. Bivins is the former Curator of Collections for Old Salem, Inc.

Except where mentioned in the text information contained in this article regarding artisans and the Moravian settlements in North Carolina is based on manuscript materials in the Moravian Archives of the Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Factual data on furniture pieces was taken from the Research Files of Old Salem, Incorporated, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.



Figure 15. Drop-leaf dining table, Bethania, c. 1770-80, walnut with yellow pine secondary wood. Top open, 45-1/2" x 52-1/2", HOA 29-1/4". With its fluted trisid feet, inset knee brackets, and molded leg stiles, this table shows Delaware Valley influence. The stiff curve of the legs and deep skirt, however, are a regional development, and the concealed top battens (note projecting pins in skirt) are a Baroque detail favored by Moravian cabinetmakers even later than they were employed elsewhere by Germans. Old Salem, Inc.



Figure 16. Drop-leaf dining table, Salem, c. 1780-90, walnut with yellow pine secondary wood. Top open, 60-1/2", HOA 28-3/4". Possibly the work of Johannes Krause. With its straight-turned legs and heavy "club" feet, this familiar form of Moravian dining table relates to a host of side tables, including that in Fig. 14. The top batten on drop-leaf tables, however, is set inside and pegged into the end frames. Old Salem, Inc.

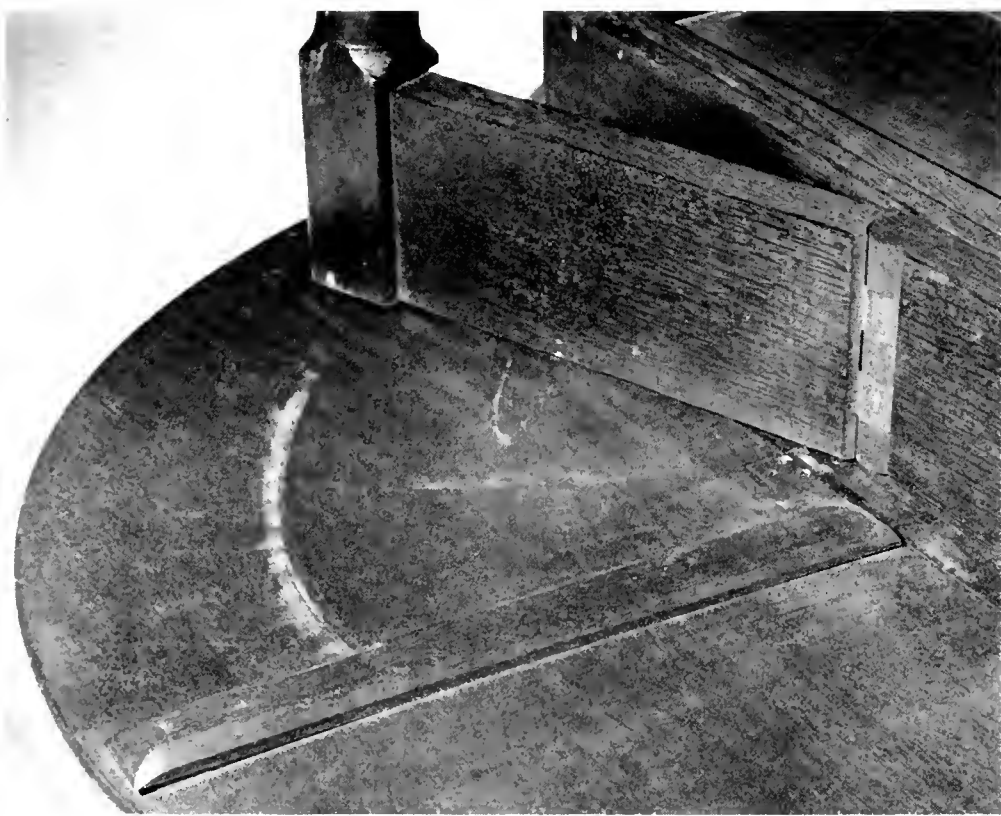


Figure 17. Detail of Fig. 16 showing dovetailed batten under table leaf, ostensibly to prevent warpage. Old Salem, Inc.

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| 2720 | Chippendale card table, North Carolina. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas S. Douglas, III. |
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| 2765 | Agate teacup and lid, English. Gift of Mr. George Abraham. |
| 2766 | Chinese export porcelain soupbowl. Gift of Mrs. Alfred Marks. |
| 2775 | Porcelain punch bowl. Donated to the study collection by Mrs. Jane Hanes Morton. |
| 2795-4 | Amethyst colored glass bottle, Stiegel type. Gift of Mrs. Ralph P. Hanes. |
| 2795-5 | Enamel decorated glass tumbler, Pennsylvania. Gift of Mrs. Ralph P. Hanes. |
| 2796 | Brown stoneware mug. Mrs. J. Saunders Williamson Purchase Fund, in memory of Mrs. Lucia Wilkinson. |
| 2798 | Printed fraktur, Maryland. Gift of Mr. Robert C. Vaughn, Jr. |
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| 2802 | Candlewick coverlet, North Carolina. Gift of Mrs. Carl D. Downing. |
| 2803 | Arm chair, North Carolina. G. Wilson Douglas Purchase Fund. |
| 2806 | Five-plate stove, Marlboro Furnace. St. Joe Minerals Corporation Purchase Fund. |
| 2810 | Engraving by Theodore deBry. Gift of Mrs. Bahnson Gray. |
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